

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 14624

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, UR, YO
SUBJECT: SOVIET TREATMENT OF 11TH YUGOSLAV PARTY CONGRESS

SUMMARY: SOVIET TREATMENT THUS FAR OF THE XI CONGRESS
OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA HAS SHOWN
RESTRAINED WARMTH. END SUMMARY.

1. MOSCOW HAS PUT THE BEST FACE POSSIBLE ON RELATIONS
WITH YUGOSLAVIA BUT THE SOVIET CENTRAL COMMITTEE
GREETING AND KULAKOV'S SPEECH ON JUNE 21 AT A MEETING
IN THE TOWN OF SMEDEREVO (CARRIED IN LENGTHY SUMMARY
IN THE SOVIET PRESS) INDICATE THAT RELATIONS ARE
STILL CLOUDED BY DIFFICULTIES. KULAKOV STATED THAT
PARTY AND STATE RELATIONS IN RECENT YEARS "HAVE
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RECEIVED FURTHER DEVELOPMENT" AND THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE GREETING DECLARED THAT FRIENDSHIP AND
RELATIONS "ARE DEVELOPING AND STRENGTHENING." BOTH
FORMULATIONS APPEAR TO US FLAT, THE MINIMUM THAT COULD
BE SAID UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES.

2. ON THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT, NEITHER KULAKOV'S

SPEECH NOR THE CC CPSU GREETINGS WHICH WERE PUBLISHED IN PRAVDA JUNE 21 CONTAINED A REFERENCE TO PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, BUT THEY ABOUNDED IN STATEMENTS CONCERNING "INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY," "MUTUAL SUPPORT" OF CP'S, AND "PROLETARIAN SOLIDARITY." THE GREETING ACKNOWLEDGED THE POSSIBILITY OF "CREATIVE APPLICATION OF MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY," BUT SPOKE ALSO OF THE "OBJECTIVE LAWS" OF THE TRANSFORMATION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM AND BALANCED A RECOGNITION OF THE CONCRETE CONDITIONS EXISTING IN EACH COUNTRY WITH THE NEED TO APPLY "THE COMMON EXPERIENCES" OF COUNTRIES BUILDING SOCIALISM. THESE FORMULATIONS, IMPLYING THE EXISTENCE OF GUIDELINES FOR ALL PARTIES, COULD HARDLY HAVE PLEASED THE YUGOSLAVS.

3. KULAKOV WAS MORE GENERAL IN HIS TREATMENT OF THIS SAME SUBJECT. IN A STATEMENT WHICH SEEMED MORE HARSH THAN THE CIRCUMSTANCES WARRANTED, KULAKOV ATTACKED EFFORTS OF THE "CLASS ENEMY" TO EXPLOIT DIFFERENCES AMONG COMMUNIST PARTIES IN ORDER TO TRANSFORM THESE DIFFERENCES INTO A SPLIT. PRESUMABLY KULAKOV WAS ATTEMPTING TO BLAME ANY MANIFESTATIONS OF SOVIET-YUGOSLAV DIFFICULTIES ON THE MACHINATIONS OF THE "CLASS ENEMY" AND HE SAID THAT "INTERNATIONALIST SOLIDARITY AND COOPERATION" AMONG CP'S WOULD
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OVERCOME THE "INTRIGUES OF OUR ADVERSARIES." HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE BERLIN CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN CP'S HAD DEMONSTRATED THE WILLINGNESS OF COMMUNIST PARTIES TO SETTLE QUESTIONS "AS A UNITED FRONT," PROBABLY HOPING THEREBY TO APPEASE ANY YUGOSLAV CONCERN THAT MOSCOW MIGHT ASK FOR CLOSER POLICY COORDINATION TO MEET THESE "INTRIGUES."

4. KULAKOV'S PRESENCE AT BELGRADE IS CONSISTENT WITH THE DEMANDS OF PROTOCOL. IF THE SOVIETS HAD WANTED TO SIGNAL REAL WARMTH IN RELATIONS, SUSLOV OR POSSIBLY EVEN BREZHNEV COULD HAVE GONE TO BELGRADE. AS IT IS, KULAKOV IS GIVEN A LITTLE MORE FOREIGN EXPOSURE AND THE YUGOSLAVS ARE ASSURED BY THE PRESENCE OF A FULL MEMBER OF THE POLITBURO WHO HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN RELATIONS WITH THE EAST EUROPEAN PARTIES THAT MOSCOW CONTINUES TO SEEK TO MAINTAIN RELATIONS ON THEIR CURRENT FOOTING AND THAT IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES CONTINUE TO BE KEPT WITHIN LIMITS WHICH DO NOT MATERIALLY AFFECT THESE RELATIONS. TOON

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